

# Union Leaders Oppose Attack Against Cuba

By Harry Ring

The shameful silence of the AFL-CIO officialdom about U.S. aggression in Cuba is finally being broken. Six international union officers joined with other public figures in a May 5 letter to President Kennedy declaring, "we are opposed to any further military intervention in Cuba, direct or indirect."

In another encouraging development, David Livingston, president of New York's District 65, Retail, Wholesale & Dep't Store Union, urged that membership meetings

of the union discuss the Cuba issue and expressed his own opposition to the intervention policy.

The letter to Kennedy took issue with his threat of direct intervention in Cuba following the crushing of the Cuban counter-revolutionary force.

"Nothing would be more harmful to our own true interests," the letter said, "than to slide silently from the recent fiasco to the certain disaster that faces us if we launch an outright attack upon Cuba because 'our patience is not inexhaustible.'"

Union officials who signed the statement were: Patrick Gorman, secretary treasurer, Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen; Harold Gibbons, an international vice president, International Brotherhood of Teamsters; Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer, United Auto Workers; H. L. Mitchell, international representative, Amalgamated Meat Cutters; A. Philip Randolph, AFL-CIO vice president and president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; and Mark Starr, educational director, International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

Their letter further declared: "The most basic issue is not the misplanning and incompetence of the CIA. Even if its incredible blunders had not been made, an invasion directed by the United States would have unified the Cuban people behind the regime, for it would have appeared to them as one more case of North American imperialism.

"If these things were true before the invasion debacle, they are all the more compelling today. All the world now knows that the CIA initiated, organized and misdirected the invasion; all the world

knows that the Cuban leaders themselves were held incommunicado at the decisive moment and that North Americans were in command; all the world knows that the left-wing of the anti-Castro opposition was excluded from participation in basic decisions. Given this background, any further intervention will be regarded as a naked, open and reactionary act of imperialism."

Others of the 49 signers of the letter included: James Baldwin, author; Roger Baldwin, civil liberties leader; Rev. John Haynes (Continued on Page 2)

## THE MILITANT

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## Gibson Refuses to Surrender Fair Play Names to Eastland

Richard Gibson, acting executive secretary of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, has announced publicly that he will refuse to comply with an order of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee to hand over the organization's membership lists.

The witch-hunting Eastland committee ordered Gibson to produce the lists at a hearing in Washington, D.C., scheduled for May 16. It has now postponed the hearing and the showdown on handing over the lists till May 25.

This will be Gibson's second appearance before the Senate sub-

committee. He was haled before it on April 25. At that time Eastland and Dodd failed miserably in their attempts to smear the committee with charges of being financed by "Cuban gold" and being a "Communist operation."

### Defies Witch-burners

Gibson refused to cooperate with the inquisitors on the basis of his constitutional rights, in particular those in the First and Fifth Amendments. At the end of the session he issued a blistering statement, attacking the committee's motives, methods and its racism. In his statement he declared that he personally had no connection with the Communist Party and that the Fair Play committee was "not a Communist operation, whatever that may be." He added, "we have no intention of inquiring into the political or religious beliefs of our members."

Gibson also refused to give any information on the source of the funds used to pay for a full-page advertisement by the Fair Play committee in the *New York Times* of April 21. This ad denounced CIA sponsorship and launching of the counter-revolutionary invasion of Cuba and was the first declaration in the American press of op-

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## Hunger Strike, Vigil At CIA in 2nd Week

MAY 10 — Today marks the eleventh day of round-the-clock picketing at the Washington, D.C., headquarters of the Central Intelligence Agency. The vigil is being maintained by the Non-Violent Committee for Cuban Independence. A number of the demonstrators have also been carrying on a hunger strike since the beginning of the protest action.

The ranks of the vigilers and fasters has been depleted by the arrest of seven for "loitering." They were given ten-day sentences and will not be out of jail until May 12, the next to last day of the protest. Before beginning the hunger strike and vigil, the pacifist group announced that if any of them were arrested they would continue to refuse everything but water in jail and upon release would immediately resume picketing the CIA.

The Fair Play for Cuba Committee is calling for a big turnout Saturday, May 13, to demonstrate support for the NVCCI's picket line and its demands for abolition of the CIA and an end to U.S. intervention in the affairs of the Cuban people.

The Fair Play committee is calling for solidarity delegations from as many Eastern and Mid-western chapters as possible. Chartered buses will leave New York City at 7 a.m. Saturday morning. Mass picketing is scheduled for 1 p.m. at CIA headquarters, 2430 E. St. NW in Washington. Round trip bus fare from New York is \$6. Buses will load at 80 E. 11th St. and at the corner of 138th St. and Broadway.

## AFL-CIO's Firing Of Negro Official Causes Protest

By Fred Halstead

Leaders of the Negro American Labor Council met in New York City May 6 to plan a protest against the firing of Theodore Brown from his position as assistant director of the AFL-CIO civil rights committee. Brown, formerly with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the only Negro on the committee, was summarily fired last month by AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer William Schnitzler.

The civil rights committee has been under increasing pressure by Negro leaders recently because of its failure to eliminate racial discrimination in AFL-CIO unions, some of which still bar Negroes from membership. At the AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting in Miami last February, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the Council's only Negro member, proposed that a Negro be made director of the civil rights committee, "because something drastic has to be done to bring about a change."

The committee's director, Charles Zimmerman, resigned recently and Brown was the logical choice to succeed him. Randolph and Brown have declined comment on the firing, apparently until they speak with AFL-CIO president George Meany, but other NALC leaders have expressed anger. The labor secretary of the NAACP, Herbert Hill, said, "we categorically reject any dubious explanation given by the Federation for Mr. Brown's dismissal other than the known fact that he was conducting a most vigorous effort on behalf of the Negro workers who were victims of trade union discrimination." Randolph is president of the NALC and Brown is its secretary.

## Socialist Candidate in N. Y. Denounces Folk Singing Ban

NEW YORK, May 7 — Seven hundred persons defied a Park Commissioner's ban on folk singing in Washington Square here today by marching in a body into the square and singing folk songs. The police made no attempt to stop the singers. On two previous Sunday afternoons arrests had been made when smaller numbers demonstrated against the ban. The attempted ban was the latest move in a series of police harassments aimed at the atmosphere of intellectual, cultural, and racial freedom traditional in Greenwich Village which surrounds the square. Yesterday, Richard Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, demanded the lifting of the ban. In a letter to Mayor Robert Wagner, Garza said:

"For over fifteen years young people have sung and played musical instruments in Washington Square Park. The reasons given by Park Commissioner Newbold Mor-

ris for suddenly banning them have become flimsier and more ridiculous as the weeks go by. Yesterday's decision by Justice Hecht that the court 'may not substitute its own judgment for that of the Commissioner of Parks' clearly indicates that you must now take a position.

"The candidates of the Socialist Workers Party feel that many issues besides the ban on the folk singers are involved, including the right of free speech. More ominous to us, however, is the fact that the ban appears to represent the pressure of real-estate interests and others who desire a wedge to make the Village area lily white.

"Too little integration exists in our city. Washington Square Park and Greenwich Village represent a toe-hold of integration here. This ban can only lead to other steps that will make the park and the Village 'out of bounds' for minority groups."



Carl Braden

## Martin L. King Asks Clemency In Braden Case

Seventeen prominent Negro and white southerners, including Martin Luther King, Jr., have initiated a petition for executive clemency for Carl Braden. Along with Frank Wilkinson, Braden began serving a year's sentence on May 1. Both were convicted for contempt of Congress as a result of their 1958 defiance of an Un-American Activities Committee inquisition in Atlanta. The committee was then attacking the developing integration struggle in the South. Braden and Wilkinson challenged this attack and on the basis of the First Amendment refused to cooperate with the witch hunters.

### Fought Jim Crow Housing

The petition points out that "Braden already has spent eight months in prison for his stand in integration — a case in which his conviction was reversed and for which he was never compensated."

In May, 1954, Braden then a Louisville newspaperman, bought a house in a suburb of the Kentucky city and sold it to a Negro family unable to find suitable housing in the Negro ghetto. Enraged local police framed Braden on a "sedition" charge. He spent the eight months in jail while the \$40,000 bail was being raised and subsequently won his case on appeal in the federal courts.

The petition, addressed to President Kennedy, was announced by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, a pro-integration organization for which Braden is a field secretary. It is being circulated nationally. The initiators include, in addition to Rev. King, Rev. William B. Abbott, Norfolk, Va.; Sarah Patton Boyle, Charlottesville, Va.; James McBride Dabbs, Mayesville, S.C.; Rev. W. W. Finlator, Raleigh, N. C.; Bishop Edgar A. Love, Baltimore; and Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, N. C.

## Kennedy Weighs Use of Troops In Vietnam War

The Kennedy administration is seriously considering sending United States troops to fight against guerrillas in South Vietnam and Thailand, according to Senator William J. Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Fulbright said May 4 that he would support such moves "if they were considered necessary," even though he had opposed further commitment of U.S. forces in Laos.

Washington's attempt to maintain a right-wing government in power in Laos has failed completely because the Laotian population refuses to support the U.S. puppet regime of Prince Boun Oum against attacks by Pathet Lao (Free Laos) guerrillas. The Laotians won't fight for Boun Oum "even if you give them a gun," complained Fulbright.

"The best we can hope for," writes Walter Lippmann (May 4) "is that Prince Souvanna Phouma, whose fall we engineered, will return to power, presiding over a quasi-neutralist government."

The peoples of Thailand and South Vietnam are also rebelling against the reactionary dictatorships fastened on them by the State Department and Pentagon. Premier Ngo Dinh Diem's government in South Vietnam controls only the cities. His troops enter the countryside only on punitive raids against the peasants who are seizing grain from usurers and landlords. Lippmann counsels against sending American troops there because a guerrilla war cannot be won by an army not supported by the population.

"Now the truth is," he points out, "as so many of our correspondents have reported, that our man [Diem] is extremely unpopular, his government being both reactionary and corrupt."

## Killings By Whites Increase in Angola

"Thousands of colored people have been slaughtered and mutilated" by Portuguese authorities in Angola in reprisals against a revolt by Africans, declares a Baptist missionary who recently left the West African colony. The Rev. Clifford J. Parsons reported to Baptist meeting in London May 2, that the Africans' patience with forced labor and corporal punishment has finally run out. The Africans, he said, have been arming themselves with sticks and pruning knives and had attacked Portuguese settlements.

"Reprisals on an even greater scale followed," said Parsons and "Each night, the Portuguese secret police have broken into houses and dragged Africans into the streets, where they were shot." Parsons said statements by Africans' confessing to atrocities were obtained by the secret police by beatings and solitary confinement in a narrow cupboard.



# Did CIA 'Bungle' Invasion?

Was the CIA really responsible for the "fiasco" of the Cuban invasion? Was the invasion smashed because the "intelligence" assurances of an uprising were baseless? Or because the agency failed to apply the "democratic" principles which Kennedy piously declared would govern the operation?

Certainly the current disclosures of how the CIA carried through the project demonstrates that its politics, methods of operation and personnel would do credit to a Batista.

For example, take the latest revelation offered by the May 7 *New York Times*. Correspondent Sam Pope Brewer reports an interview with Dr. Rodolpho Nodal Tarafa, an anti-Castro Cuban volunteer who, along with 16 others, was held incommunicado by the CIA in Guatemala for 11 weeks before and during the defeated invasion.

Nodal and the others got into hot water when they protested because the CIA eliminated the officer chosen by the Cubans and put José San Román, a former Batista army officer, in charge of the camp where they were training.

For this, Nodal said, they were taken from the camp by armed CIA agents whom he described as "thugs" and "gangsters." They were humiliated, imprisoned and forced at gun point to take lie-detector tests intended to prove they were "Communists."

Their imprisonment, under CIA guard, was at a Guatemalan army

camp a distance from their own training camp.

"The shed they were in," the account said, "was about 15 by 30 feet with a concrete floor, wooden walls and a galvanized iron roof. In the sunny Guatemalan highlands it was so hot in the daytime that they lay panting and naked on the floor. But it was bitter cold at night."

"They were questioned separately by Pat, the chief security guard. Dr. Nodal described him as 'six feet, four inches tall and about 230 pounds and stupid.'"

The day the invasion began, "five heavily armed men arrived, headed by a short, bald, middle-aged man known to them as Mac. Dr. Nodal said Mac berated them at length for not being with the invasion forces. He said that they had missed their chance to do their patriotic duty and that when the invaders won out the prisoners would be handed over to Captain San Román 'in handcuffs.'"

But the invaders didn't win, so after several more days they were flown back to Florida, taken by truck into Miami and dumped into the street.

Such revelations as these are intended to show that a "good" idea — the invasion — failed because it was "badly" managed by the CIA which froze out the "democratic" wing of the counter-revolutionary force and put the *Batistianos* at the head of the operation.

This is pictured as a particularly

costly error since the "democratic" wing, it is claimed, have an "underground" in Cuba that would rise up when the invaders hit the beach.

This is so much cock and bull. If there really was a significant underground in Cuba, why didn't the CIA, which operates the Swan Island radio, issue the signal for the uprising? After all, they issued battle communiques in the name of counter-revolutionary leader Miró Cardona while they had him imprisoned in Florida.

The fact is that neither the CIA nor Kennedy and his advisers had any illusions about an uprising in Cuba. That was simply propaganda for home consumption.

There was no fooling around with "democratic" counter-revolutionaries because Washington knew full well there was no mass underground. And it knew the Cuban people would fight the invaders no matter what label they bore. That's why the whole emphasis was placed on trying to secure a beach head. Kennedy figured that if the beach could be held for a week he would have the pretext for recognizing a "government in arms" and intervening directly.

This reactionary scheme was blown sky high when the Cuban people smashed the invasion in 66 hours.

But Kennedy remains determined to go it again — this time on a scale big enough to eliminate "bungling."

With the taste of the last "democratic" intervention in their mouths, will the people of this country permit such a crime?

## ...Union Leaders

(Continued from page 1)

Homes; Rabbi Isadore Dorfman; Dr. David Reisman, sociologist; Norman Thomas, Socialist Party—Social Democratic Federation leader; Edmund Wilson, critic; and Morris Rubin, editor, *The Progressive*.

The signers expressed sympathy for those of the Cuban counter-revolutionaries who they view as "true democrats and trade unionists in exile" but said "their cause is compromised in the eyes of the Cuban people by association with U.S. military power, and with former supporters of Batista's bloody dictatorship."

They also scored the aggressive policy toward Cuba as part of a wrong foreign policy. "We have substituted a military policy of bombs, bases and alliances for the struggle for democracy; we have cynically enrolled dictators like Franco, Trujillo, Chiang, Somoza and Batista under the banner of 'democracy.'"

David Livingston in an April 30 column in *The 65'er*, wrote: "Our members should discuss the question of Cuba among ourselves. Our membership meetings, shop meetings and other gatherings of our rank and file should come to a consensus of opinion and should give expression to that consensus. If our members favor what has been done, so be it. If, as this writer believes, they come to the conclusion that what has been done is wrong, our members should not hesitate to say so."

Livingston then made a point that should be considered by the entire leadership of the labor movement. After explaining why he thought the invasion was wrong and was pre-doomed to failure, he said:

"In setting forward these thoughts, it is not a matter of second guessing. These were things that were clear to many Americans before the Cuban disaster. Most of us kept quiet and our country suffered. Would we not have been better patriots to run the risk of some criticism and give expression to our views at that time?"

## The Black Muslims

**THE BLACK MUSLIMS IN AMERICA** by C. Eric Lincoln. 276 pages, \$4.95. Beacon Press, 1961.

Race relations in this country have been undergoing some dramatic changes in the last year or two — not so much changes in the way the oppressed Negro people are treated as changes in how the Negroes feel about these relations, and what they are doing about them.

The student sit-in movement shows that young Negroes are dissatisfied with the tactics and methods of the old movements, and that the struggle for integration has become nation-wide, reaching into the worst white-supremacy areas, even South Carolina and Mississippi. The organization of the Negro American Labor Council expresses the growing impatience of Negro unionists with token integration and token representation in the unions and plants. And the Negro nationalist movement, reflecting the bitterness and frustration engendered by repeated betrayals and run-arounds, has grown considerably and become the focus of much thought and dispute about the future of U.S. race relations.

The term "Negro nationalist" is heard quite frequently nowadays, but in our opinion is widely misused and misunderstood. We think, for example, that it is used wrongly when applied to people or groups who urge Negroes to organize themselves independently or in all-Negro organizations to fight for their objectives. What is decisive is not the type or form of organization they advocate (whether mixed or all-Negro) but their objectives — do they aim at winning equality through the abolition of all forms of racial discrimination and segregation, or do they aim at the creation of a separate Negro nation? Only those who want a separate nation, we maintain, can correctly be called Negro nationalists.

The biggest and most significant of the authentically nationalist movements is the Black Muslims led by Elijah Muhammad. Dr. Lincoln's book is the first serious full-length study of this movement, whose following he estimates at around 100,000. It is a useful and important book for everyone interested in the nature and complexities of the struggle for Negro equality.

Lincoln, a professor and minister, has collected most of the information previously available and has added some more, through personal interviews and observation, about the history, methods and doctrines of the Black Muslims.

What emerges is a picture of a religious sect, semi-political in nature, that seeks to unite the members of the "black race" (by which it means all non-whites); to achieve absolute racial separation; to build a separate black economy; and to create a separate nation.

Its religion is much like that of orthodox Moslems, except for its

attitude toward race. It is undemocratic, all decisions resting in the hands of a single man, Elijah Muhammad. It is highly disciplined. It seeks to recruit members through meetings, circulation of propaganda, its own schools, etc. Most of its program is general or vague; for example, when asked how it will achieve a separate nation, its answer is: "Allah (God) will arrange it."

The Black Muslims teach that whites are an inferior race and preach distrust of all whites. They are respected and admired for their boldness and militancy by many Negroes, especially Negro workers, who do not accept their religion or some of their ideas but who like to hear the truth told about the Jim Crow system. And most of the Muslim agitation makes effective use of the truth about that system, the ineffectiveness of such groups as the NAACP, etc.

Liberals, both white and Negro, condemn the Black Muslims as "racists, just as bad as the white supremacists." Socialists have a different attitude (and their position is supported by the material in Lincoln's book). It is wrong to equate the chauvinism of the white supremacists, who defend an oppressive system, with the chauvinism of the Negro nationalists, who are the victims and opponents of that oppressive system. It is not accidental that the police and other authorities hound and persecute the Muslims while they wink at or slap the wrist of the white supremacists.

We cannot recommend all of Lincoln's conclusions or opinions, which usually remain within the framework of liberalism, but we do recommend his factual material, which will enable the reader to draw his own conclusions.

G.B.

## ...Fair Play

(Continued from page 1)

position to U.S. intervention in Cuba.

The *New York Post* of May 7, after first clearing itself of any possible charges of being sympathetic to the aims of the Fair Play committee, editorially denounces Eastland's demand that Gibson hand over membership lists. The editorial says that whether people who joined the FPCC "were right or wrong is irrelevant to the larger issue of whether they should be capriciously subjected to the retroactive persecution by a Senate committee that has so persistently disgraced our free traditions."

The Kennedy administration has a vindictive fury against the Fair Play committee, which many months ago began a campaign for public investigation of the CIA. Not only has it played a major role in exposing the CIA conspiracy against Cuba but its attorney, Stanley Faulkner, has officially asked for the indictment of Allen Dulles for violations of the Neutrality Law and U.S. treaty commitments.

## The Costs of 30-for-40 — How UAW Opposition Sees It

DETROIT — The following article appeared in the April issue of the *Bulletin* published by National Committee for Democratic Action in UAW, which was distributed to the UAW convention last month:

The labor bureaucrats are not enthusiastic about the rank and file demands for 30 for 40 — that is, 30 hours work a week for 40 hours pay. Their customary argument is that it would cost too much. The corporations and perhaps the entire American economy would be undermined, they fear, if hours were shortened so more of us could get jobs while the billionaire employers are compelled to continue paying the standard weekly wage.

The hearts of the porkies don't exactly bleed for General Motors (which made close to a billion net last year) but it would be safe to say that labor statesmen feel

it is bad taste to make union demands that might annoy the corporation statesmen. Labor statesmen are on annual salary — most of them in 5-figure brackets plus adequate expense accounts. Man, how they'd shudder if the union demanded company-paid expense accounts for all hourly rated workers in the '61 contracts!

Talking about costs:

● Since 1945 the U.S. has spent over 750 BILLION dollars for war and war preparations.

● Other countries received from the U.S. in the same period over 86 BILLION dollars.

● The U.S. is continuing to spend around 45 BILLION dollars for war year by year.

● The U.S. continues to give to foreign countries over 4½ BILLION dollars every year.

● Unemployment benefits in our country cost over 5 BILLION dollars a year.

● Welfare expenditures by U.S. cities, counties and states cost between 2 and 3 BILLION dollars a year.

● The U.S. is planning to spend between 20 and 40 BILLION dollars to send an American to the moon.

● Pres. Kennedy asks Congress for tax gift of nearly 2 BILLION dollars to corporations for modernizing and expanding their plants, claiming that two-thirds of our industrial set-up is out of date. So it's to be MORE BILLIONS of government money (the taxes we pay) to automate us out of our jobs.

And yet, brothers and sisters —

The labor statesmen and the professional politicians here and in Washington tell us that putting every American, able and willing to work, on a job would cost TOO MUCH.

While at the same time automation could be a universal blessing if the men and women displaced from jobs were given new ones so they could make a decent living. But that, we are told, would cost TOO MUCH.

Yes, the cheapskates keep on yapping that the U.S. can't find jobs for all and shorten the work-week — because that would cost TOO MUCH!

## Weekly Calendar

### DETROIT

Robert Himmell, candidate for mayor, and Sarah Lovell, for common council, will discuss "Labor's Stake in the City Election" Fri., May 19, 8 p.m. Friday Night Socialist Forum, 3737 Woodward.

### LOS ANGELES

**The Race in Space** — Competition and conflict between the Soviet and capitalist systems. Speaker, Arne Swabeck. Fri., May 19, 8:15 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Contrib. \$1. (Students and unemployed 50 cents.) Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Militant and Young Socialist supporters invite you to a picnic on Sunday, May 21, noon to 5 p.m., at Elysian Park, Spot no. 1. For information phone AN 9-4953.

### NEW YORK

**The Negro in American Literature.** A lecture by Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, author and critic. Fri., May 19, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Socialist news commentary. Theodore Edwards, chairman, Southern Calif. SWP. Fri., May 19, 7:45 p.m. FM station KPFK, 90.7 on your dial.

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# THE MILITANT

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Monday, May 15, 1961

## Inaction on Unemployment

Reports by some economists indicate that the recession has "bottomed out," or stopped getting worse from the point of view of production. Though there have been many claims that an upturn is beginning, the actual figures are not yet conclusive on this point. But whether business activity has actually begun to increase significantly or not, unemployment is still at approximately the same level it has been for the last five months. The seasonally adjusted rate of unemployment rose slightly to 6.9% last month. What is worse, the number of long term jobless — those unemployed for fifteen weeks or more — rose to a post-war record of 2,100,000 in April.

In short, business is supposed to be getting better, but unemployment is getting worse. The Kennedy administration has offered no plans so far that will solve this problem. The latest attempt by Kennedy to give the impression he's doing something about chronic unemployment is a proposal to Congress for \$75 million to retrain workers whose jobs have been eliminated by technological change. Such retraining should certainly be provided at company or government expense, but retraining in and of itself, doesn't create new jobs. What is more, the amount that Kennedy proposes is only about \$35 per long-term unemployed person. And an additional 1.8 million workers are expected to be ousted by automation in the next year.

## Those Mythical MIGS

Politicians in this country were lying about Cuba before the CIA-sponsored invasion and they are continuing to lie after it.

One of the most popular myths being circulated is that it was Soviet MIG fighter jets that defeated the invasion. "Those were not Cuban jets that shot down troops last week. They were Communist MIGS," declared New York's Governor Rockefeller last week.

But according to Premier Castro, the Cubans didn't have any MIGS. Since their total air force at the time of the invasion consisted of but six planes, he said, Cuba very much wished it did have some MIGS.

Castro's facts were confirmed by one of the invaders who told the *Miami Herald* May 3: "Six lousy little planes won the war for Castro. He had seven but we got one."

Castro was further confirmed by Rear Admiral Edward J. O'Donnell, base commander at Guantanamo Bay. Reporting the admiral's picture of the situation, the *New York Times* of April 20 said:

"The sensitive radar on Navy ships here have picked up no trace of high speed Cuban or Communist aircraft. Officials, therefore, are confident that there have been no MIG fighters in this area of Cuba at least."

The reason for the lies about the MIGS is not just to further the propaganda myth about Cuba being a Soviet pawn, or simply to alibi the defeat of the invasion.

The overriding reason is that the sponsors of the invasion can't afford to admit publicly that it was smashed because the Cuban people solidly supported their government in repelling the attack. After all, once you admit that, you simply have to say that a reinvasion would be for the sole purpose of reimposing U.S. domination on Cuba.

## Kennedy Keeps a Promise

During last year's election campaign, Kennedy appointed a committee to prepare the Democratic Party Platform pledges on civil rights for Congressional action. Last week the proposals which resulted were introduced in Congress. Immediately, Kennedy disassociated himself from these bills and his press secretary said, "The President has made it clear that he does not think it is necessary at this time to enact civil rights legislation." So much for campaign promises loudly and publicly made to the labor movement and the Negro people.

The May 10 *New York Times* explains this by saying "there is no great pressure for new legislation, and the administration feels that any attempt to get it would only hinder other parts of its legislative program." There is, on the contrary, tremendous pressure for new civil rights legislation from the Negro people, but this pressure has no channel in Congress. So Kennedy yields to the pressure of the Dixiecrats who do have power in Congress, thanks to the refusal of the labor bureaucracy and the conservative Negro leadership to launch a new party.

But there is another kind of campaign promise to which Kennedy will be true. Governor Ernest Vandiver of Georgia dismisses the civil rights bills as "silly" because it would take federal arms to enforce them and "I secured a promise from Kennedy that troops would never be used" to enforce school desegregation in Georgia. That's the kind of promise — made in secret to a white-supremacy leader — that Kennedy keeps.

# Framed-Up for Aiding Algerians

By George Lavan

Indications from Holland are that the trial of Michel Raptis, better known by his pen name "Pablo," and Sal Santen, European Trotskyist leaders, is soon about to begin. Pablo, a resident of France, and Santen, a citizen of Holland, have now been in prison without trial for over ten months on charges which appear to have been concocted by the secret police of France, Holland and West Germany.

The key charge in the frame-up is attempting to counterfeit French money for the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN). Other charges are fabrication of false identity cards and other papers for the FLN and purchase of materials for the FLN.

Both prisoners freely admit their support of the Algerian independence struggle but categorically deny the counterfeiting charge. Indeed, they and their defenders have been hard put to discover the details of the alleged counterfeiting operation and have been pressing for months for a trial which would force the authorities to substantiate the charge.

In the same month (last June) that the Dutch police arrested Pablo and Santen, there were press reports that West German police had raided a print shop in Osnabruck and arrested two Hollanders and a German preparing to counterfeit French francs. An Algerian, Ahmed Abbas, was also arrested.

### Provocation

Numerous circumstances, including the Dutch authorities' immediate release of one of the alleged counterfeiters as soon as the German police had put him on Dutch soil and his subsequent disappearance, indicate the whole counterfeiting aspect is a provocation prepared by the secret police of the three imperialist nations.

Aside from coverage in *The Militant*, the only mention of the Pablo-Santen case in the U.S. press was in an article by Paris correspondent George B. Boswell in the March 13 *New Leader*. Boswell stresses that the aid of the Fourth International for the FLN went beyond propaganda and moral support; and that during the Nazi occupation Pablo and his wife had "successfully printed two clandestine newspapers and coun-

terfeited numerous identity cards." The article then asserts that in 1958 Pablo and his wife moved to Amsterdam, "probably because their underground support of the FLN had forced them to leave France. With the help of a local printer they turned out false papers for FLN agents, which the police later admitted were of high quality. They also served the Algerian rebels as purchasing agents for arms and ammunition."

"The normal risks involved in this illegal work, pursued purely for ideological aims, were compounded by the activities of French undercover agents who are employed to break up clandestine groups working for the FLN. These agents, commonly known as *La Main Rouge*, have allegedly resorted to murder in a number of instances."

### Draws Protest

A section of Boswell's article accepting the counterfeiting charge as actual fact has drawn heated protests. In the *New Leader* letter column (May 1), Pierre Frank of Paris, editor of *Quatrième Internationale*, writes: "This is the version of the police. The Fourth International and our comrades Pablo and Santen, whilst taking full responsibility for their support to the Algerian revolution, have always denounced this accusation of counterfeiting money as a provocation framed up as well against the Fourth International as against the FLN."

A world-wide campaign to defend Pablo and Santen and secure their liberation is underway. Questions about their unprecedented imprisonment for over ten months without trial have been raised in the Netherlands parliament.

Among those who have sent messages to the Dutch authorities on the two prisoners' behalf are Jean Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Claude Bourdet, Roger Blin, Alfred Rosmer, Daniel Guerin, Claude Roy and many other distinguished French figures. From England support has come from eleven members of Parliament, many Labor Party and union officials, Isaac Deutscher and many others. Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party of the U.S., cabled a demand for their release. Other protests have come from Asia, Africa and Latin America.

As their trial is about to begin, it is imperative that organizations and individuals wishing to help free these two socialist leaders, whose only crime is aiding the Algerian independence struggle, immediately send cables to be transmitted to the presiding judges. Such cables should be addressed: M. Roger Foirier, 89 rue Rouget de l'Isle, Suresnes (Seine), France. Copies should be sent to: Maitre Cammelbeeck, Kievitlaan 10, Eindhoven, Holland.

## Worthy Tells How Cuban Revolution Benefits Negroes

William Worthy is one of the few U.S. newspapermen covering the Cuban story who can look at himself in a mirror without flinching or blushing. In the April 29 *Afro-American* he discusses, in his usual forthright fashion, an aspect of the Cuban revolution that gets little attention in most papers — the racial aspect. Following are excerpts from his article:

Close to one-third of the people of Cuba are Afro-Cuban, obviously, unmistakably. Poor they have always been, as slaves and serfs under the Spaniards, as peons on the vast U.S.-owned plantations. From time to time U.S. marines broke their strikes. In 1912, some of them went into open rebellion and fought what is known as Cuba's "race war."

Today the Afro-Cubans are Fidelistas. They are possibly the most fervent defenders of the Cuban Revolution. When Fidel Castro proclaims this is a revolution for the poor and humble, the Afro-Cubans — hitherto the poorest and the humblest — are the prime beneficiaries.

Cuba is America's "lost plantation." The desperate Cuban policies of our business-oriented government have one single-track objective: to regain possession of that plantation and to reimpose on the Cuban people the plantation system . . .

The economic and political colonialism of the West has always had its color rationale. In Miami not long ago a hysterical Cuban counterrevolutionary spilled the beans when he warned: "If the Revolution wins, it will be the definitive triumph of the colored man in Cuba."

To him and his equally twisted U.S. backers the contagious racial equality in revolutionary Cuba looks dangerously like an incoming tide of black supremacy.

One purpose of the invasion would be to put Afro-Cubans back into their Jim Crow "place." . . .

Home is home, I long have told myself. Yet with every passing month I anticipate fewer and fewer regrets about handing in my Jim Crow resignation from this moral wilderness.

## Supporters of Socialist Fund Reach Goal in Full and on Time

By Marvel Scholl  
Fund Drive Director

As you can see from the accompanying scoreboard, we did go over the top — and by May Day!

I take this opportunity to thank everyone who helped make the fund the success it was — especially those hardworking fund directors throughout the country who took their jobs so responsibly. It is a tribute to them and their branches that in these days of widespread unemployment, they were nonetheless able to come in — many of them over the top — on schedule.

To those many readers of *The Militant* and to friends of the Socialist Workers Party, who sent in their dollars directly to the "General" category or contributed to meeting the quotas set for their areas, we also say a heartfelt thanks.

It is encouraging to note that "General," the last item on the scoreboard is almost double what it was last time. The acceleration of contributions to it immediately after the invasion shows recognition of the need to step up defense of the Cuban revolution.

I would like to leave you with this thought. This fund has reached a successful conclusion. But the need for money is an everlasting

one. Revolutionary socialists do what is necessary when it is politically necessary. Contributions are needed and welcome at any time! So don't let the fact that this fund is completed inhibit you from sending contributions to: SWP, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

## Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Pittsburgh	\$ 10	\$ 12	120
Philadelphia	300	322	107
Allentown	120	125	104
Milwaukee	300	310	103
Cleveland	500	510	102
Boston	500	505	101
Seattle	500	505	101
Berkeley-Oakland	500	505	101
St. Louis	90	90	100
San Francisco	500	500	100
Detroit	625	625	100
Connecticut	150	150	100
Twin Cities	1,200	1,200	100
Chicago	800	800	100
San Diego	280	280	100
Newark	150	150	100
Los Angeles	5,000	5,000	100
New York	4,400	4,400	100
Denver	85	60	71
General		422	
	\$16,020	\$16,471	103



## J. Edgar's FIB Detected

"One of the demonstrators provided the spark that touched off a flame of violence. Leaping a barricade that had been erected, he grabbed an officer's night stick and began beating the officer over the head. The mob surged forward as if to storm the doors, and a police inspector ordered the fire hose turned on. The water forced the crowd to the head of the balustrade, and the cold water had a sobering effect on the emotions of the demonstrators."

That was J. Edgar Hoover's official version of last year's police attack on San Francisco student demonstrators against the House Un-American Activities Committee.

"Robert J. Meisenbach, 23-year-old University of California student, was acquitted yesterday of charges that he triggered last May's City Hall disturbance by clubbing a policeman with his own billy." — San Francisco Chronicle, May 4, 1961.

The jury found Meisenbach not guilty on the first ballot after it heard the local police give an entirely different story than Hoover's about how the students "provoked" the police attack and after three other prosecution witnesses came up with stories that contradicted each other.

So far, to our knowledge, Hoover has made no comment on the acquittal of Meisenbach or the dropping of charges against the 63



**J. EDGAR HOOVER, disguised as a locomotive engineer, ready to railroad.**

others who were arrested with him.

Neither has the House Un-American Activities Committee, which set the stage for the police attack by packing its "public" hearing to keep the students out.

Nor has the film company which has been peddling \$100 prints of

Operation Abolition, a doctored version of the attack fabricated in cooperation with the House committee.

So far we've seen only two statements on the significance of the jury verdict. Meisenbach's lawyer, Jack Berman, said: "This knocks Operation Abolition into the creek and it nails the lies in the original Police Department reports. Both are filled with falsehoods."

"It is a direct blow to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, given by 12 impartial citizens who finally heard all the facts."

The other comment came from San Francisco Police Chief Thomas Cahill whose face, according to the Chronicle, was "ruddier than usual." Cahill said he was sure that the six cops who testified against Meisenbach had given the facts "as they saw them."

The chief also offered this intriguing thought:

"Maybe some of those people who criticized the police role in the riot ought to take the police department examination."

After reading the "report" of the nation's chief political policeman and the accounts of the cops' testimony at the trial — and after recalling how the cops clubbed and hosed the students for protesting Congressional witch hunting — we wonder just what that police department examination consists of.

### Munch Man!

## There's Dough in Bomb Shelters

By Herman Chauka

Gov. Rockefeller has finally sold me on the build-yourself-a-bomb-shelter program. The main reason that I've taken a dim view of the whole deal up to now is not so much that I felt it was lost motion but that I just couldn't see being cooped up with a lot of other people in an underground concrete outhouse without any kind of a recreation program to pass the time. (They say there wouldn't be any TV after the bomb drops and the most you would get on your shelter radio is the CONELRAD announcements.)

But that's where the governor's new gimmick comes in. To explain how he sold me I have to go back to when I was growing up during the depression.

In those days we also had a lot of time to kill, most of it in a pool room not much airier than a bomb shelter. One of the favorite diversions in the pool room was to dream up sucker bets for newcomers. This not only passed time but also opened the possibility of getting into the blackjack game in the back room.

One very popular sucker bet involved a nickel box of Uneeda

Biscuits, a soda cracker well known then for its filling quality. After a proper buildup, a newcomer would be offered a bet that he couldn't eat ten Uneeda Biscuits in five minutes.

Sounds easy? Try it sometime. You start cramming the crackers into your mouth and before you can reach for a bottle of pop the five minutes are up and your mouth is so stuffed with soggy cracker meal that you can barely come up for air.

So that's how Rockefeller sold me. Last week he announced that 1,400,000 crackers (1,400 pounds) have been stockpiled in the basement of New York's state capitol. They'll serve as a two-week food supply for more than a thousand people in the event of atomic attack.

The crackers aren't Uneeda Biscuits, which I remember so fondly. But they were developed by the same company, National Biscuit Co., in cooperation with the Civil Defense Commission.

The governor says that 100 of these crackers would provide a complete balanced diet. Each one contains 20 calories.

I never knew how many calories were in a Uneeda Biscuit. But I

know that a hundred of them would keep you pretty full for the day — if you could chew and swallow that many in a day.

So now I figure that when I hear the bomb drop I'll make it up to Albany as fast as I can. With a thousand suckers in that bomb shelter I'll have it made. Since there won't be the same turnover you get in a pool room I won't kill a good thing with any get-rich-quick ten-in-five minute bets. Instead I'll just innocently offer all comers three to two that they can't eat 1,400 crackers in 14 days like the governor says they're supposed to.

Mr. Rockefeller also reported that the fallout shelter has been completed in the executive mansion and plans for others are proceeding at his Fifth Avenue apartment and his estate at Pocantico Hills. He didn't say whether he was stockpiling the crackers there. But if he does and I can work my way into one of them with my rich friends and relatives, I'll really come out loaded with dough.

But being a conservative type gambler, I'll back up my bets by first finding a bookie who will give me even money that I'll ever come out.

## Letters from Our Readers

### Joe Hill's Ashes

New York, N.Y.

The other day I got hold of a paper from Cuba, the April 8 issue of *Revolucion* reporting a speech by Fidel Castro to construction workers. Here is part of what it said:

"Well we were already in an epoch where there were no contractors, where there were no grafting administrators, where we have already begun to assure job security, but still there remained causes of discouragement. What discouragement?"

"The discouragement of a worker who was working with pick, with shovel, or with mortar board or trowel or whatever, and that worker would see that while he was working hard, there would be certain people with better pay than he, who notwithstanding were passing all day without doing anything. There were so many such evils, which were so discouraging. And this worker would say: 'Why should I be the one to work harder here? Why is this señor so fortunate that he has to do absolutely nothing — his work is so simple and easy that it could be done by a child.'"

Castro goes on to say that the more they do away with people getting paid for giving orders and not working themselves, the easier the work gets and the more the production goes up. I never thought I'd live to see a head of a government talk like that. Remember Joe Hill's song where he says, "To the grafters we'll sing this refrain: Chop some wood, 'twill do you good." That's a great song. I guess when the Wobblies took Joe Hill's ashes and gave them to the hoboes and sailors and told them to scatter them all over the world, some must have gotten sprinkled around down in Cuba.

F.H.

### Militant Sales at UAW

Detroit, Mich.

The special eight-page *Militant* went over big on the opening day of the UAW convention here. Over 150 copies were sold in an hour and a half to the delegates as they streamed into the convention hall.

This, in spite of the fact that the delegates were deluged with free papers, bulletins and circulars.

Some of our salesmen featured the back page devoted to convention issues and others the front page with the big head, "Stop the Crime Against Cuba."

## ISR Features Latin America and Cuba

By Hedda Grant

An impressive array of articles selected with an eye to the most important issues of the day make the spring issue of the *International Socialist Review* a must on the reading agenda.

Here, as far as we know, are the first English translations of important documents of the Latin American Conference for National Sovereignty, Economic Emancipation and Peace recently held in Mexico City. Included are the complete text of the opening speech by former president of Mexico, Lázaro Cárdenas; the complete text of the speech of Alberto T. Casella of Argentina, a co-sponsor of the gathering; the full text of the speech of Señora Vilma Espín of Cuba; and the unanimously adopted declaration of the closing session.

Murry Weiss' article, "The Fracturing of the Monolith," gives

There were some hostile reactions to the Cuba head. ("Give it to Khrushchev," was one bright remark.) But others bought it because they liked the headline.

Others, who are familiar with the activity of the Socialist Workers Party, not only bought the paper but contributed a quarter or a half a buck in addition.

Free copies were given to the two groups of demonstrators in front of the convention hall. One was a group from Local 212 protesting the seniority sellout in the Chrysler-Briggs contract; the other members of the Greater Detroit Unemployed Coordinating Committee.

The response was cordial, showing many delegates are not taken in by Reuther by any means. This points up the fact, in the opinion of some unionists here, that this issue of the *Militant* should have concentrated more fire on Reuther's plan to scuttle the all-important demand for 30-for-40 because Kennedy's against it.

J.A.

### Castro Ignores 'Tradition'

Detroit, Mich.

The following letter was sent by me to the Detroit News and Free Press but was printed by neither:

Fidel Castro led his people in fighting the invaders. Castro is a "foolish" man, to wit: Tradition allows leaders of nations to be highly paid; safe and sound with their own bomb shelter (because they are "more important" than other people); to have extra-special royal treatment; avoid common labor; have privileges; live in palaces and White Houses — and be called "democratic" at the same time.

Why does Castro begrudge himself these "privileges"? No one would criticize him, least of all in the USA.

But Castro is a "foolish" man. To win gains for his people, even small ones, he risks his life and is always up front, sharing the danger, the work and the hardships.

That's why the Cuban people support Fidel. The ordinary Cuban is not told he is "inferior" or more "suited" to danger and hardship than his leaders.

That's why there was no mass uprising against Castro. That's why there were virtually no defectors from the militia. That's why the Cuban revolution is good.

R.F.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Wonder Why?** — "WASHINGTON, May 4 (AP) — The United States Information Agency has stopped taking polls abroad on who is winning the 'cold war,' a spokesman said today."

**Stevenson's Nostalgia** — In the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, Adlai Stevenson, in the United Nations, blandly denied that the U.S. was organizing the invasion of Cuba. On May 3, he said he sometimes yearns for "the simple brutalities of bipartisan politics."

**Robin Hood, Inc.** — The Westinghouse executives who rigged prices in violation of the anti-trust law offered this explanation, according to the May 5 *New York Times*: "Their only purposes in the conspiracy, they said, were to protect the company against 'sharp purchasing practices,' to keep

workers employed during periods of low business volume and to assure the company sufficient profits to continue the company's costly research program to benefit the public and the utility companies."

**'Old Shaky'** — An Air Force radar tower on the New Jersey coast collapsed Jan. 15 killing all 28 occupants. The Air Force now admits that three days before the structure collapsed it had been warned it was in bad condition. It was further disclosed that there were known defects in the construction of the tower and that it had been nicknamed "Old Shaky" long before it fell into the ocean.

**Protest Rally** — Nearly a thousand students at Syracuse University in New York staged a rally May 5 protesting administration efforts to stop interracial dating.

Two coeds charged a dean had threatened to notify their parents if they continued to date boys of a different race.

**Ralph Chaplin Memorial** — Friends of Ralph Chaplin, well-known figure in the Industrial Workers of the World, held a memorial meeting in New York last month. Poet and song writer, Chaplin was the composer of *Solidarity Forever*. He died in Tacoma, Wash., at the age of 83.

**Should Plead Guilty** — Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., special assistant to Kennedy, who drafted the "White Paper" which served as the propaganda preparation for the U.S.-sponsored invasion of Cuba, told a Baltimore ADA banquet that in this decade, "the intellectuals will be on trial."

### Thought for the Week

"Water pollution is getting worse as people live closer together. Chemical and microbiological contaminants present increasing hazards to milk and other foods. Streams have begun to poison bays, increasing unsafe clams, oysters and mussels. Dirtied air poses a serious hazard. Most communities have inadequate garbage disposal facilities." — From a May 8 *New York Herald Tribune* account of findings presented to Congress by public health experts.